595 They have as many wives as they want, especially the chiefs and their children. They even have them on different islands. The wives live in separate little huts and sleep with their husbands in succession, one during one month, the other the next month. The one who is sleeping with the husband serves him during this time and follows him everywhere, even to sea. If they surprise their wives in adultery or [604] if the wives become pregnant by another man, they usually kill them, even though they sometimes leave them for two or three years without [536] going to see them. The men are free to leave their wives, [597] and the wives may then remarry; but the wives do not have the right to [152] leave their husbands. Even though the husband may have several wives, these are hardly jealous, except perhaps rarely.

606 The husband never speaks to the father, mother, and brothers of his wife, unless they are drunk or are children. If he meets them on the same path, he avoids them by making a big detour. If necessity obliges them to speak, as when they are at sea, they turn their faces 585 away and cut the conversation short. They use no ceremony at all for their marriage. If the girl does not already belong to the man, [582] as the cousin issued from the [mother's] sister, he asks for her from the father or mother. They do not know what it is to speak of love. They rarely marry without the consent of their father or mother. [533] The men do not sleep with their wives unless they are really nubile and capable of having children. When the wives are delivered of child, 846 the husbands separate from them and they do not sleep together for five or six months. And they both fast—it is one of their most famous fasts—especially when their first child is a boy. The man fasts more rigorously than the woman, lest the child suffer. Father Raymond being at the home of The Baron at Dominica, went to see one of these fasters and as the Father spoke to him of this fast, the Carib told him that some men completely abstain from drinking and eating for the first five days after a childbirth by their wives, and then take nothing but some ouicou from the sixth to tenth days. After that they eat nothing but cassava and drink ouicou for the period of a month or two. Note that they eat nothing but the heart of the cassava and hang the rest with a cord for the feast. It is true that when they begin to eat, they eat and drink when they want, but nothing more than cassava and ouicou. When the day of the feast arrives, their friends assemble and one slashes the skin of the father's whole body with agouti teeth,

241 To clear land for a garden the Caribs have work parties. They cut off branches, pile up wood and leaves, and burn off the land in order to prepare it for planting. These work parties are organized in the following way. They have a drinking party in which all the strong men are requested to join in the work. Later that morning they fell a square patch of wood 100 to 200 feet on a side. The wood is knocked on the ground in disorder. They drink the rest of the day and the following night as payment. Six weeks later they set fire to the field at noon when the breeze blows. They set the fire on the side of the field to the wind, and the greater part of the refuse is burned. Then they hold another drinking party in order to pick up and complete what is left to be done. They hold work parties also in other situations and replace by this means the absence of servants and laborers which are unknown among them. [86] At their feasts they eat as little as they drink much. [71]

574 When the Caribs have completed their tasks on a work party they have a drinking party where drink is served by the man who has sent for them. When they have drunk everything they go to their host and say "My friend, I leave. I have drunk all the drink which you have prepared in return for my labor. Good-by." [362]

273 The Caribs do not prevent either men or women from becoming [684] drunk. But they do not allow men to seduce other men's wives, while these women are drunk. [319]

The Caribs are so vile in their drunkenness that when they feel themselves to be too full they turn their head aside and often even without leaving their place in the company, they put their fingers into their mouths to bring up everything they had swallowed. [223]

627 Vengeance rules among the Caribs, but it is only carried out at their drinking parties. The offended person is careful to remain sober in order to better the success of his plan. He is not punished for his deed if he has done it to avenge the death of one of his relatives. But if he has unjustly killed a man, it will not fail to pass that sooner or later the relatives of the dead man will put him to death, unless the murderer quickly flees to another island. [370]

595 place to another. [312] The wives of the Caribs pretend to be brave and they take care not to show their jealousy. But however hard they try, jealousy shows itself. It appears that they have reason to be jealous, for the custom is that a wife having lived for one month with her husband should retire yielding her place to another. Sometimes, however, a man stays for a full year with another, abandoning the one he had chosen previously, and she feels this sharply. If she betrays her
[684] husband he will not fail to kill her. I have seen captains who tell their sons-in-law to go and sleep with their wives, for otherwise the captains say, they will give their daughters to others and this has happened
587 several times. [208] When women die the men remarry, and when men die the women take other husbands. If these husbands also die, they can take other husbands. [269]

841 The Carib women do not approach anyone when they have their menstrual cycle upset and they will not allow anyone to approach them, no matter what bad treatment they receive for this conduct, because they believe that this would upset the cycle more. [298]

606 The young married people turn aside to avoid speaking and meeting their fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. When I observed this I asked them why they avoided speaking with people who are so useful to them. Their reply was, "It is not permitted for me. I dare not do it." [301] "Your mother-in-law is troublesome to you when she does not see her husband." [136]

601 Acátobou is a maternal uncle, i.e. mother's brother. Neukêcayem is an uncle who has married a maternal aunt. Naheupouli is an aunt. Ninántaganun is the term by which uncles call their nephews who are sons of their sisters. The aunts call these nephews ibátomon. Uncles and aunts call their nieces nibáche. Uncles and aunts call the children of their nephews nínibotle, nitamotle. The children of nephews call their great uncles and great aunts by the same term that their fathers use for these very same relatives. First cousins whom we call sons of the father's brother are called "brother." The brothers of the father are also called "father." The children of brothers never marry among themselves. But if the sisters of their fathers should have daughters they may well marry them. If there should be no daughters these male cousins are called iapátagnum. Girl cousins call their maternal male cousins nígatou when their sisters do not marry them, and in this case the boy cousins call these girl cousins niotille atonum. However, if these boy cousins should take these girl cousins in marriage, the female cousin is

595 The wife who is living with her husband during this month is obliged to prepare for him all the necessities. She makes bread for him and serves him as her master, painting him red and combing his hair every day. If he needs to travel she accompanies him everywhere during his trip. Since the love for their wives is unequal, the visits are sometimes not so evenly regulated. The husbands let whole years elapse without living with some of their wives. But if the wife is the daughter of a captain, he is interested in his child and threatens his son-in-law that he will take back his daughter and give her to someone else. If the wife is deceived and seduced by the wiles and promise of a lover and if her sin, done secretly, is discovered by her husband, he sometimes forgives his wife but never the wife's lover.

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586 They like to be as free to abandon their wives as they are to chose them, and this is the reason why they leave them whenever they please. The wives do not have the same right and need their husbands' consent. If a man marries a slave he has captured in war, she is included among his wives, but she always has her hair cut like that of a boy. Often when they have taken their pleasure they strike their captured women with a boutou—which is a kind of club and is their ordinary weapon—and by hitting them on the head send them to the next world as their only reward. Nevertheless, this is rather rare and we have seen several of them, especially old men, who tenderly loved their young slaves and the children of such, who enjoyed the same condition as the man's other children.

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146 There is no doubt at all that the female animals in our islands have a shorter gestation period than in Europe. I have neither noticed nor heard that women are affected in this way. However, the women are capable of having children earlier and they stop bearing children later than European women. If one looks into the register of Guadeloupe he will find the name of an old Carib woman called Madame, who is one hundred years old, and she has a daughter who is five years old. I have seen the woman and child. Her age is only conjectural, yet it is certain that she could not have been less than eighty years old when she gave birth to the child.

The Reverend Jesuit Father Chemel let me know several facts in letters which he did me the honor of writing, and which prove what now follows: He told me that at the time he lived in the islands a

276 the men. However it is considered by them to be a terrible crime to
786 take advantage sexually of a woman who is drunk. The women also
● 684 dance in a circle, each holding one hand on her head and the other on her buttocks, and neither jumping nor walking, they shake their feet. Although they exert themselves strenuously they actually traverse very little ground.

574 They have only one kind of feast which is respectable and decent. When a Carib has captured a tortoise or has made some other good catch, he invites one of his closest neighbors and gives him a good party. After eating well, the neighbor returns home very contented.

Despite the disorders of their debauches, they have at least the decency of never eating until they have invited all those who are in their company to do so. After sharing the meat it sometimes happens that there is nothing left for the man who gives the party. Because this [sharing] is their custom they often became angry at Father Raymond [Breton] who refused his share for fear he would be too much of a burden.

These assemblies are very frequent, and in Dominica there is one almost every week.

7. Food and Treatment of Visitors

264 There is nothing cruder among the Caribs than their eating habits; they are so dirty in everything connected with eating and drinking that it turns the stomach of everyone who sees them prepare it. I don't mention their ouicou and ordinary drink which is made by the gossiping old women chewing cassava, and whose mouths often stink like latrines. While eating they are not ashamed to belch, piss, and I dare not say more. They are not at all surprised to see in their food hair, straw, leaves, caterpillars, and all kinds of other filth. They have nothing good and clean except bread, which is cassava. They add pimento so strongly to everything they eat that they are the only people who can eat it.

262 As concerns the meats usually eaten, they do not correspond to the ones we are accustomed to in Europe. They only eat bourgaux [bugaus] which is a shellfish, crabs, tortoises, and several kinds of

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

basis of their supposed wisdom and powers of endurance, and had to submit to such tests as fasting, drinking tobacco juice (a powerful emetic), stinging by wasps or ants, and scarification with agouti-tooth lancets.

Today the tribe as a whole elects a chief for his real or self-advertised ability to safeguard its interests and improve its lot. Unless deposed for gross injustice, he holds office for life; but no particular privileges attach to the position. Having no means of enforcing sanctions, his rule is limited to that of a paternal arbiter.[2]

All records insist on the democratic character of Island Carib society. Only those who so desired joined a war party. A father would not dream of telling a sixteen year old son to come fishing, but merely announce his own intention of going. "Orders are given to none but women and slaves," says Labat; and adds that as far as he saw, both these classes were treated gently, and that many Caribs had real affection for their wives. The statement that they were also very jealous, and might kill a woman suspected of infidelity without proof or further ado rather loses significance when we learn that, in their cups, Caribs frequently cracked the heads of men whom they considered to have injured them, and that in such cases, only the family of the victim, if they held the deed as unjustifiable, would take up the vendetta. Moreover, should a deceived husband not kill his wife immediately after discovering her guilt, not only must he not hark back to the subject later, but he was supposed to tolerate subsequent lapses provided they be with the same man (see term 20)! This latter, however, if challenged by the aggrieved husband, must bow his head and submit to being slashed with a knife, but was at liberty to return the challenge under the same conditions later. Children were disciplined little, and then, more out of sporadic ill-humor than in their own interest.

Although it has faded somewhat in the course of the last three hundred years, the above picture is still recognizable in its outline. The father has final authority in the household, although he usually leaves the management of children

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2 As a consequence of the so-called "Carib War" of September 1930 (see Douglas Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, Anthropological Papers, no. 3, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 119, pp. 103-159, 1938), the late chief Jolly John was "cashiered" by the local British authorities. A plebiscite by show of hands, held in the presence of the magistrate, resulted in his re-election by the Caribs, who continued to regard him as Chief until his death in 1942. Nevertheless, at the instigation of the local authorities, a council of five was appointed to replace the "office of chief," which was discontinued. Divided amongst themselves, its members have attempted little and accomplished less. The number of disputes settled by them without recourse to the magistrate is but a fraction of those successfully arbitrated formerly by the chief. Thus far, their only united effort has been directed toward urging the local authorities (who give them each a yearly "Christmas box" of $5) to raise their "pay"!

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastize or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's combosse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire général des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).